

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 082693 TOSEC 030117
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY S/P:DAKORN:MPH/LHW
APPROVED BY NEA:ALATHERTON
INR:HNSAUNDERS
NEA:MSTERNER
S/SO:JTHYDEN

-----052588 310226Z /62

O 310150Z MAR 78 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 082693 TOSEC 030117

NODIS
CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, IS, EG

SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS ON THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. FURTHER TO OUR MARCH 27 MEMORANDUM, WE HAVE BEEN CONSIDERING HOW TO BEGIN PREPARING THE WAY FOR NEXT MOVES IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. WE START FROM THE PREMISE THAT PRESENTATION OF A U.S. PROPOSAL FOR A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, SOMETIME ABOUT MID-APRIL, SHOULD BE OUR NEXT MAJOR ACTION. HOW TO BUILD TOWARD THIS IS QUESTION WE WANT TO ADDRESS HERE.

2. FACT THAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE NOW MADE PUBLIC THE FULL TEXT OF THEIR MARCH 22 DRAFT WHICH DAYAN GAVE YOU HERE (TEL AVIV 4214 BEING REPEATED TO YOU) STRENGTHENS OUR FEELING THAT WE SHOULD PUT OUR OWN PROPOSAL FOR A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 082693 TOSEC 030117

TION TO THE PARTIES SOONER RATHER THAN LATER. THE ISRAELI DRAFT WILL APPEAR REASONABLE ENOUGH TO THE UNPRACTICED PUBLIC EYE, AND IT MAY BEGIN TO SWING SUPPORT TO ISRAELIS WHICH COULD EVENTUALLY MAKE IT TOUGHER TO GET THEM TO AGREE TO OUR COMPROMISE TEXT WHEN WE CHOOSE TO PUT IT FORWARD.

3. FINAL DECISION AS TO WHETHER AND WHEN WE TAKE THIS STEP CAN WAIT FOR YOUR RETURN. IN MEANTIME, HOWEVER, WE THINK WE SHOULD GET SOME OF THE NECESSARY PRELIMINARIES OUT OF THE WAY IN ORDER TO HAVE THE OPTION AVAILABLE IF WE WANT IT.

4. IT SEEMS TO US THAT A FIRST AND REQUISITE STEP WOULD BE TO PASS ISRAELI MARCH 22 DRAFT TO THE EGYPTIANS. ALTHOUGH EGYPTIANS MAY FIND PARAGRAPH THREE OF THE NEW ISRAELI DRAFT SOMETHING OF AN IMPROVEMENT, IN OTHER RESPECTS THEY ARE HARDLY LIKELY TO FIND IT MORE SATISFACTORY THAN PREVIOUS ONES. BUT AS LONG AS WE HAVE AN ISRAELI DRAFT THAT HAS NOT BEEN GIVEN TO THE EGYPTIANS WE WILL NOT BE IN A GOOD POSITION TACTICALLY TO COME FORWARD WITH A DRAFT OF OUR OWN. BEFORE PROCEEDING TO PASS IT TO THE EGYPTIANS WE SHOULD CHECK WITH DAYAN TO LET HIM KNOW OUR PLAN AND GET ANY COMMENT HE MAY HAVE. OCCASION CAN ALSO BE USED TO MAKE SURE THE RECORD IS CLEAR CONCERNING OUR POSITION. ISRAELI PRESS IS SAYING (PRESUMABLY ON THE BASIS OF WHAT IS BEING TOLD BY GOI) THAT THE U.S. HAD "REJECTED" THE MARCH 22 DRAFT BECAUSE IT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO EGYPT, WHICH DEMANDS TOTAL WITHDRAWAL AND SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PALESTINIANS.

5. A FURTHER AND VERY IMPORTANT STEP, IN OUR VIEW, WILL BE TO ASSURE OURSELVES THAT SADAT WILL INDEED BE ABLE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 082693 TOSEC 030117

TO ACCEPT A DECLARATION ALONG THE LINES OF THE TEXT WE GAVE THE ISRAELIS MARCH 21. IT WOULD BE EMBARRASSING, TO SAY THE LEAST, FOR US TO PRESENT A TEXT OF OUR OWN AND HAVE A FIGHT WITH THE ISRAELIS OVER IT ONLY TO FIND SADAT SAYING HE CANNOT AGREE TO IT. SADAT HAS SAID HE WILL ACCEPT THE ASWAN LANGUAGE, AND KAMEL SEVERAL TIMES SUGGESTED TO AHERTON THAT IF AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON THE PALESTINIAN PARAGRAPH OTHER POINTS OF DIFFERENCE COULD BE RESOLVED. BUT WE MAY NONETHELESS HAVE TROUBLE WITH THE EGYPTIANS OVER THE PARAGRAPH ON WITHDRAWAL, IN WHICH THEY HAVE WANTED TO INCLUDE LANGUAGE ON THE INADMISSIBILITY OF THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORIES BY WAR AND NOW, PERHAPS, MAY INSIST THAT THE WITHDRAWAL PASSAGE MUST BE BUTTRESSED WITH THE "ON ALL FRONTS" PHRASE. BEFORE COMMITTING OURSELVES TO WORK FOR ISRAELI AGREEMENT ON OUR SINGLE TEXT, WE WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO MAKE SURE WE HAVE SADAT WITH US. EILTS COULD CHECK OUR TEXT WITH SADAT AFTER WE HAVE HAD THE EGYPTIAN REACTION TO THE MARCH 22 ISRAELI DRAFT.

6. WE ALSO FACE POSSIBILITY OF A VISIT TO U.S. BY DAYAN IN APRIL AND QUESTION OF HOW TO FIT IT IN WITH THE PLAN FOR

PRESENTATION OF A U.S. PROPOSAL FOR DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. SO FAR WE HAVE NO OFFICIAL REQUEST FROM GOI FOR A VISIT BY DAYAN. BUT WHILE DAYAN WAS HERE WITH BEGIN, BAR-ON REPEATEDLY URGED THAT WE INVITE DAYAN BACK, AND ISRAELI PRESS IS NOW SAYING HE WILL BE COMING TO THE U.S. SENATOR JAVITS HAS ALSO URGED FURTHER TALKS. WE CAN SEE MERIT IN FURTHER TALKS WITH DAYAN, ESPECIALLY IN HAVING A MUCH LONGER SESSION THAT WAS POSSIBLE DURING BEGIN VISIT TO GO THROUGH ALL THE ISSUES AGAIN VERY THOROUGHLY AND MAKE SURE WE FULLY UNDERSTAND ALL NUANCES OF THEIR POSITION; IF YOU DO NOT HAVE TIME FOR THIS ROY WOULD BE ABLE TO DO IT. BUT AT THIS STAGE WE THINK THE INITIATIVE FOR A VISIT BY DAYAN SHOULD BE LEFT TO THE ISRAELIS SO AS TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THEY ARE THE ONES WHO ARE ASKING FOR
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 082693 TOSEC 030117

THE MEETING AND THEREFORE HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR COMING UP WITH SOMETHING NEW TO JUSTIFY GETTING TOGETHER AGAIN. DANGER IN HAVING DAYAN COME WOULD BE THAT HE WOULD AGAIN BRING MORE OF HIS AMBIGUOUS "PERSONAL IDEAS" WHICH MAY NOT ADVANCE US WHILE ISRAELIS NONETHELESS PLAY TRIP AS DEMONSTRATION THAT THEY ARE MAKING AN EFFORT AND THAT USEFUL ACTIVITY IS GOING ON. BUT IN ANY EVENT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO REFUSE TO SEE DAYAN IF HE WANTS TO COME. QUESTION WILL BE WHETHER WE SHOULD TIME PRESENTATION OF U.S. DRAFT OF THE DECLARATION FOR BEFORE OR AFTER VISIT BY DAYAN, AND THAT WILL PROBABLY DEPEND LARGELY ON WHETHER HE WOULD COME EARLY OR LATE IN APRIL.

7. BUT FIRST STEP IN THIS PROCESS, WHATEVER WE LATER DECIDE ABOUT FOLLOW-ON STEPS, SHOULD BE TO CHECK WITH DAYAN ABOUT CONVEYING THE MARCH 22 ISRAELI DRAFT TO THE EGYPTIANS. FOLLOWING IS AN INSTRUCTION TO LEWIS FOR YOUR APPROVAL.

8. BEGIN TEXT

TO: AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

SECRET/NODIS

SUBJECT: DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. WOULD LIKE YOU TO CHECK WITH DAYAN REGARDING THE DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES HE GAVE THE SECRETARY ON MARCH 22, WHICH WE SEE GOI PUBLISHED ON MARCH 27 (TEL AVIV 4214).

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 082693 TOSEC 030117

DAYAN KNOWS WE THOUGHT CERTAIN PORTIONS OF THE MARCH 22 DRAFT WOULD PROBABLY FALL SHORT OF MEETING EGYPTIAN NEEDS, THE EGYPTIANS ARE THE ONLY ONES WHO ARE REALLY QUALIFIED TO SPEAK ON THIS SUBJECT. WE DO NOT WANT TO PUT OURSELVES IN POSITION OF MAKING JUDGMENTS FOR THEM.

2. IN THIS REGARD YOU SHOULD MAKE POINT THAT WE ASSUME GOI UNDERSTANDS THAT STORIES IN ISRAELI PRESS THAT THE USG REJECTED THE MARCH 22 DRAFT AS BEING UNACCEPTABLE TO EGYPT ARE INACCURATE. IN MEETING WITH DAYAN AFTERNOON MARCH 22 SECRETARY SOUGHT TO POINT OUT AREAS WHERE WE THOUGHT THE LATEST ISRAELI DRAFT WOULD NOT MEET EGYPT'S NEEDS, BUT IN NO SENSE DID WE REJECT THE DRAFT OR PRETEND TO SPEAK ABOUT IT ON BEHALF OF EGYPT. IT WAS NOT OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT MARCH 22 DRAFT WAS BEING PUT FORWARD BY DAYAN AS A FORMAL PROPOSAL OR THAT WE WERE BEING ASKED TO CONVEY IT TO EGYPTIANS. WE ARE OF COURSE PREPARED TO DO SO IF ISRAELIS WISH.

3. IF DAYAN AGREES THAT WE SHOULD CONVEY THE MARCH 22 DRAFT AND SEEK EGYPTIAN REACTION, PLEASE ASK HIM IF THERE ARE ANY MODIFICATIONS HE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE BEFORE WE GO AHEAD. END TEXT.

9. WE ARE SENDING BY SEPTTEL TEXT OF THE ISRAELI MARCH 22 DRAFT IN CASE YOU WANT TO LOOK IT OVER AGAIN AND HAVE FURTHER THOUGHTS FOR INCLUSION IN CABLE TO LEWIS.

10 RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU AUTHORIZE TRANSMISSION OF FOREGOING MESSAGE TO AMB. LEWIS.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE
COOPER

SECRET

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, AGREEMENT DRAFT, NEGOTIATIONS, PEACE PLANS, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 3-31-78
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE082693
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: DAKORN:MPH/LHW
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840163-0244
Format: TEL
From: STATE S/P
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t1978032/aaaaabsk.tel
Line Count: 207
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 355581bc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 aug 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3188729
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NEXT STEPS ON THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES
TAGS: PEPR, PBOR, IS, EG, XF
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/355581bc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014